619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the
[103 mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
174 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779 said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166 who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582 They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas."

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de- 292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared 765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.

619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

543 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
140 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[443] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooothe Albanians were gloomy, occupied with the task of keeping the slipping horses on the trail. In a few moments we had left their struggles behind us.

We climbed doggedly, in silence. Only the swishing of the relentless rain and the clicking of our staffs on the rocks made little noises against the distant roaring of waterfalls. By some trick of light reflected from peak or cloud, the trail and the valley below it were visible in a green-gray ghost of daylight, which made us seem unreal even to ourselves. And we climbed, interminably, forever, putting one foot before the other with the patient deep attentiveness of trudging animals, while rain dripped unheeded from forehead to cheek to chin. We climbed, absorbed in detail of slippery shale and stubborn bowlder, till Perolli's exclamation shocked us as though a rock had spoken.

We must wait for our men, he said, and we dropped where we stood and sat soddenly. To light a cigarette was as impossible to us in that rain as to a swimmer under water. We sat and looked at one another, and laughed aloud, and were silent again. The horses came past us at last, each held by halter and by tail, and slowly they struggled over the crest of the mountain and disappeared. We should go on, Perolli said,
166 and we murmured assent, but still we sat. When a stranger appeared on the trail against the gray sky we moved only our eyes to look at him.

He was a young man, dark eyed and hand-

1 [on Chafa Bishkasit Moun- [18] tain trail --Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

some, but haggard. Besides the rifle on his back 166
was strapped a small baby. The little head, uncovered, streaming with water, appeared above the thick woolen-fringed collar of the man's black jacket. The baby's mouth was open, drawn into a square of misery, but no sound came from it. The man's jacket had been darned and darned again, till no thread of the original weaving was visible; his white homespun woolen trousers, hung low on the hips, were worn so thin that the darns no longer held together, and tatters fell around his bare ankles, above feet wrapped in rags. The remnants of black braiding on his trousers were of a pattern I had not seen before; I could not guess his tribe. Behind him a shapeless bundle of household goods moved slowly on the tiny hoofs of a donkey, and the little beast's drooping ears and nose almost touched the trail.

"Long may you live!" And when he had returned the greeting we continued the courteous formula. "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

"Are you a man?"

"I am a man of Kossova, of the district of Ipek," he answered, and it was not necessary to say more, for the Serbs hold Ipek. The memory of their taking it moved like a darkening shadow over his face, and it is best to ignore such memories.

Yet there was a little hope in his vague voice. He was going, he said, in search of a farm on

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

which he could live. He had tried to live in the Shala country, but it was impossible there. There was too little land for the tribe of Shala, and the making of land is slow among mountains where stone walls must be built to catch the little earth that remains when rain melts limestone. He had heard that in the valley of Scutari there was soil, as there had been in Kossova, and his voice sank into silence as though it were a burden too heavy to lift.

But he tried to make the baby smile for the American *zonyas*. The baby, too exhausted to cry any longer, was equally unable to smile, and this last baffled effort suddenly became rage. It was only a twist of the haggard face, an explosion in the depths of the man's spirit, and, like an explosion, it was over before we saw it, leaving on our eyeballs a picture of something that no longer existed.

"He has a beautiful smile," the father said, apologetically, "very beautiful," and he took up his rifle.

"Long may you live," we said. "Go on a smooth trail."

In a moment the rain had blurred the figures of the man and the tiny donkey, moving slowly down the mountain side.

We wiped the streaming wet from our faces with water-withered hands, picked up our staffs, and drove our bodies again to their task of climbing. The burden of the world's helplessness in misery was heavier on our spirits than the weight

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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from home. The blood feud, on the other hand, scattered them even more widely, and while most of the exiles returned home, some settled outside the mountains. Miss Durham discovered around Jakova, about 1912, small villages made up of people from Fan and other

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Mirdite *bairaks*, from Shala, Berisha, and other Gheg regions. Most of these exiles had probably left home involuntarily. The political framework of Gheg tribal society, particularly its warlike aspects, tends to promote emigration.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[10] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.